433, 162, 464, 439

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2
Israel	MF1

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, Mid Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309. Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308. Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310. Palestine - pp. 302-304. Israel - pp. 310-311./

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Mansūrī today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident; 16 are wholly summer; 6 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 40 are split. Of the 40 split households: 33 have the head and others resident; 3 have the head and others in summer only.

From this and the population trends, it is clear that in terms of numbers, and down in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 10 per cent of the households are "summerers" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *mṣayfīn*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Shīmmīnīn about 1930 when 13.3 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Thomsen, 1940, p. 67). Thomsen refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Abbott (1930, p. 277) says that in Ras al-Matn, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Jbeil appeared to be largely deserted in winter time in 1931. Thomsen (1930, p. 102) says that in general automobiles [illegible] have increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1930's, but we cannot say how the situation in Mansūrī compares to that in other villages.

The living patterns of the summer residents generally consists in the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1945. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Gardet, 1952, pp. 131-32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands sojourners, usually remaining in the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jaber who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 10 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jaber, 1946, p. 102).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ghirr than it is in the village proper, partly because Ghirr is better located from the point of view of rapid communication with the outside. Ghirr's population is as follows: resident, 39; summer, 41; absent, 11; emigrated, 3; total 94. None of its eleven households is wholly rural, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 2 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the items of trade. The number of males by occupation of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 65. The discrepancy in the ratio which these figures suggest is accounted for by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 10 heads of household does not tally with

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" usually are either hired farm hands or contracts to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmers" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mureid also rent the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be two Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all fellahin." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XII, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he brought water-vessel land on the southern rim of Wadi Sa'idan, just outside the Quarter, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Damûrân (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Khuri, 1960, p. 62), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Shops	5	Fishermen	5
Taxi drivers	4	Barbers	4
Butcher	2	Bakers	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	1
Bookkeeper	0	Teacher	0

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a rural guard (women, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were ex-shoemakers, and another was a midwife part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former pastors

"The Absentees" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste or upstart Old Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, ABSENTEEISM

Mansour Jaafar el-Khouri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle of its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the sectional lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Sectional Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 1). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and cross-sectional lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by sectional lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*melk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are modern (communal) land to the sectional lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless, the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to garden about their houses, rarely actively in some cases.

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own. Sometimes, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency, a unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask [illegible] whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is alloted under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage structure undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, can literate. A quite respectable number have survived or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter, here it is appropriate to consider only the limiting which education has on occupations.

Literary itself is no entity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Most literary class would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mansif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (fulfilling a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mansif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible]-worm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisserwan, Kura, Akkar, and Beirut districts (Stewart, 1948b, p. 141), but it has long since lost its economic

a particularly welcomed district in the physical sense—most favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main lower cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a ravine. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Eldri to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Pahlav ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the lower cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, Lineage A occupying the upper part, Lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at Yaqlit, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhaiil, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main lower cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by matrilineal lineage. Some of the exceptions to the patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. These in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshish. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at least what might well be unusual evidence of this episode. Churchill (1855, vol. I, pp. 70-71), writer of the spectacular use of one Mikhael Toshaw, a Nestorian from 'Amshish, "Wishing his native village of Asshuet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of lending advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Toshaw has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Mlamdi was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat crops had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Eldri used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was lucrative but perilous, was sponge-diving.

The farm activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's subsistence isolation. It was common in these days, according to one informant, to an

[illegible]

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the district or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrowers, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the district. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The interconnection of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes one to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a compact unity. Farms of the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the district nearest the city there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while cattle tending is done by women carrying water from the village fountains.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by semi-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an extensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about $2) cents for men and half that for women per day or 12 hours day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the [illegible] where the villagers, after threshing in common, thresh their grain. When the wheat or other small crop is planted after a rain, it is brought from the fields. In a windy place nearby in the summer, one finds the most striking feature of a community, the [illegible] of which is dotted with protruding straws or jagged pieces of wood. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on the wood with a wide sheet, the open ends of which of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is not thus far broken. [illegible] enable to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer rakes the mixed grain and chaff

[illegible] Fishing is organized as a system of [illegible] with a headland. The village groups [illegible] of which [illegible] has a suburb [illegible] grouped along the coast where a fishing community exists. The industry, primitive and using [illegible] employs some 300 persons on a part or full-time basis. The gross sales is estimated at L.L. 40,000 - 100,000 annually. There fishermen [illegible] very small plots of farm land, which accounts for many of the 300 small farms reported for Sarafand.

[illegible] The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line (Tapline) has its Mediterranean terminus at Sidon which lies [illegible] km north of the area under discussion. About 600 Lebanese workmen are employed by the company, some of them coming from the villages under study. No statistical data are available on this question but it does not appear that employment by Tapline affects the five villages to any great extent.

It is reported that some of the member companies of Tapline are planning to erect an oil refinery near their present operations. During construction employment opportunities for local unskilled labor will probably occur. When the plant is in operation, two or three hundred men will be required, hence considering employment opportunities will be available. It may be that small industries will be established to use some of the products of the refinery. This would offer an opportunity for limited industrial development. Such diversification is very desirable for this otherwise agricultural community.

Domestic Water, Sanitation and Health

[illegible] Technical details concerning pollution of wells, types of diseases prevalent in the project villages, and similar data will not be found in this report. This aspect of the problem falls within the jurisdiction of the specialized and highly trained public health technicians attached to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon.

[illegible] An adequate and safe supply of drinking water is not available for any of the five villages included in the improvement project. Ras Nourieh depends upon a communal shallow well for its domestic water supply, the other villages have access to springs. In most cases these sources are adequate as to quantity except during the summer months. In all cases the quality is questionable. Villages

this category. Almost four percent of the sample falls into this group.

Construction workers

Construction workers include masons, painters, glaziers, plumbers, tile setters and electricians. Of course, some of the electricians are working in servicing of electrical appliances rather than in construction. The plumber is usually also a tinker and sells electrical gadgets. More than thirty percent of the sample falls in to this category.

Transportation

The largest single sub-category of transportation workers is the auto driver. The next biggest group is porters. These porters do miscellaneous carrying jobs for persons and firms who find human labour power cheaper than mechanical transport or whose volume of deliveries is not sufficient to hire porters full time. Other sub-groups are longshoremen, motormen, conductors, and motor vehicle sales and service. Longshoremen (ballast) are a significant sub-group as befits such an important port and transit center as Detroit. The entire group is our fourth largest category constituting almost eight percent of the sample.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous occupational group represents over eighteen percent of the total sample, but is relatively insignificant when it is analyzed. Out of the eighteen percent, thirty percent were housewives, another thirty percent were retired or ill, and over twenty-six percent were unemployed.

5.2 Length of time at last job. Table IV

Respondents were asked how long they had worked at the job before their present one. Almost forty-two percent had never worked at another job while the modal group of those who had had other jobs was between one and twenty years. This seems to be high stability of employment.

4.5 **Length of time at present job, Table 79**

Here again stability of employment is evidenced by the fact that the modal group had been in the same job for more than twenty years, while three-quarters had been employed at their present position for five years or more.

4.6 **Basis of payment, Table 79**

For those who receive wage increases, sixty-nine percent received their payments monthly while a fifth were paid daily. The self-employed category was almost half (39·1).

4.7 **Number of hours worked per day, Table 80**

The mean number of working hours per day was nine and one-half. Concentrations were found at eight hours (33·1), ten hours (30·1) and twelve hours (17·1). The high number of working hours is influenced by the presence of self-employment in small businesses which cannot afford relief personnel.

4.8 **Number of days worked per week, Table 81**

A substantial majority of the sample worked the six-day week (80·1). But almost half as many worked seven days, (39·1). These are the customary hours of the occupation.

4.9 **Number of days worked in month previous to interview, Table 82**

To check the amount of underemployment, respondents were asked how many actual working days they had worked in the month prior to the interviews. Assuming that less than twenty days per month was underemployment, we find that, of those working, about one tenth fall in this category. The actual amount of unemployment was thirteen percent. Together, then, we see that almost a quarter of the sample were unemployed or underemployed in the month previous to the interviews.

* Cf., e.g., [illegible]. Comparisons have not yet been made on this item.

4.5 Number of months of work in past year prior to interview. Table 10

For a further check on underemployment and unemployment, respondents were asked the number of months worked in the year previous to the interview. Assuming that twelve months is full employment, we find only sixty-nine percent in this category. About six percent were unemployed or an estimated 6000 in the city. It should be pointed out that these figures are correct for heads of families and include no other persons.

4.6 Preferences of head of household for rural or urban work. Table 11

People were asked as to the type of work preferred based on location of occupation. There is no question but that he (she) prefers to work in urban employment, eighty percent so indicating. Only three percent definitely prefer rural work, while the remainder were undecided.

4.7 Attitude of head of household toward present job. Table 12

In an effort to find the occupational level of satisfaction, respondents were asked whether they liked their jobs or not. A meaningful surprising seventy-six percent indicated that they did like their present positions, while only nineteen percent were definite in their dislike.

4.8 Reasons of head of household for liking present job. Table 13

The project asked those who liked their jobs what their reasons were for their opinions. The two largest specific categories of answers were that they liked them for economic reasons (40 %), and because they thought of them as being good training (29 %). Classification into these categories was done by the project officer on the basis of the free response of the respondents.

became a member are out of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the few number (4 %) who answered firmly that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.11 Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year. Table 10

Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 10, 11 and 12.

Summary

The classification scheme is crude, but is believed to give a fairer breakdown in the major categories than any existing system. Some of the categories are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quite extensive. Beirut is a city of small businesses relying not a subsistence, but a features to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, for more than is usual in most cities.

As the division of labour is splintered, so also do many people operate on jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the tobacco-plumber-electrician-plasterer service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often low level of skill which results from mastering some of the services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drawn only from political factors. The proportions of occupations are therefore only for the city residents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been included in the study.

p. 19(2)

Table 27

Length of Time at Last Job

Period	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 28

Length of Time at Present Job

Period	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

p. 433(b)

Table 82

Number of Days Worked in Month Previous to Interview

Days worked per month	Number	Percent
Total	1576	100.00
None	233	13.19
1 – 5	18	1.07
6 – 10	40	2.50
11 – 15	52	3.30
16 – 20	69	4.13
21 – 25	130	13.66
26 – 30	1047	69.47

[illegible] = .330
[illegible] = .021

$$\rho = m(e)$$

[redacted]

Table [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

P. 51(D)

Table 58

Incidence of Village Work by Head of Household for Part of the Year

Region	Number	Percent	...
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Worked in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Did not work in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(Contd. on p. 63(a))

Table VII

...ccupations in Village for Part of Time

...pe of occupation	Number	Percent
...ivator	56	100.00
...ultural	36	37.50
...ehold	17	18.00
...ner source service	13	13.00
...ner source income		
...ion	4	4.00
...ce	15	15.00
...ce	1	1.00
...ness	0	0.00

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table [illegible]

Distance of Work on Own Land for Those Working in Village for Part of Year

	Number	Percent	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

Table [illegible]

Type of Dwelling

Type	Number	Percent	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

p. 53 (c)

to the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same town, often referred to as "our forbidden." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the story, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 18th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reasons for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Mansūrī, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of them. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Mansūrī? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by anthropologists in general.[1] Life in al-Mansūrī, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship contacts* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a locus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism of knowledge, interests, and loyalties.* This was reflected in the prevalence of intra-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. ("Village endogamy.")

In the case of al-Mansūrī, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack agricultural seasons. Storage diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but [illegible]

[1] [illegible], "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 46 (1940), pp. 199–210; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1948), pp. 389–402.

wide. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the rebuilding program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the number of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

[illegible]

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1953. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Loneliness.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in el-Nhamil, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence patterns. The population of the village in 1953 totalled 323: 158 males and 165 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1953 only 70.6 percent (168) of the people lived in it all year round, while 33.2 percent (68) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to el-Nhamil only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 16, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 16 comprised 13 women who had married complete outsiders and 3 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in el-Nhamil. In 23 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 6 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 42 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-oriented. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and occupational jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Khanāṣir are very proud of their educational system, which they have created by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 11 and 19 (25 of these between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1959 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of these are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 332 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 161 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 100 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 15 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (111 men and 37 women).

Of these wage earners, 43 were working in the village and 59 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, above, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of households, whatever their primary occupations, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

[illegible] specialties as follows: weapon, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 1; storekeeper, 1; fisherman, 1; surveyor, 1; miner, 1; carpenter, 1; teacher 2. There are 4 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the workers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), unskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 1; seamstress, 1; waiter, 1; hospital attendant, 1; janitor, 1; surveyor, 1; merchant, 1; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 14. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are literate (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and non-urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — to the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over ritualistic.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Khamil. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its many hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of cultivation appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are four different systems of land tenure.* In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seed, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

* The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

being reorganized into a three-year course. Some teachers and graduates of the normal schools have been encouraged to enter the second year in order to become teachers in the rural schools. The school has no land for practical work.

Students of all these sections take an examination given by the School at the end of their study. Graduates of the School of Arts and Crafts are in demand, and are employed by the army, wireless workshops, the railroads, and electrical plants.